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Advocate of Peace

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STERILIZING PREPAREDNESS

The following proposal is now before the Naval Committees of the Senate and the House. Senator Shafroth has notified the Senate that he will move such an amendment to the Naval Appropriation Bill should it reach the Senate without the provisions appearing in this amendment. It is hoped that the amendment may be attached also to all fortification appropriation bills.

The amendment reads as follows:

"SEC. —. That if at any time before the appropriations authorized by this Act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the co-operation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure peaceful determinations of all international disputes, and which shall render unnecessary the maintenance of competitive armaments, then and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals shall be suspended, if so ordered by the President of the United States."

It is proposed to press the plan until the international organization suggested is a fact. This measure, if enacted into law, would, in the name of the American people, say to all the world:

"We, a powerful nation, prefer peaceful settlement of international differences. Will you have it so? Upon your answer hangs the question whether or not the world shall create an armament greater than any dreamed of heretofore; an armament, offensive, or defensive, which must upset all previous notions of the 'Balance of Power' and become a new menace to the peace of the world."

Whether or not the declaration will "moralize our militarism," and "sterilize our 'Preparedness' of all taint of aggression," as claimed by Mr. Oscar T. Crosby, father of the amendment, it will at least put our plans for an international tribunal officially upon the political map. We respectfully urge that every opponent of war express to his Congressmen his interest in this amendment at once.

THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY CAMPAIGN

"The biggest job in the world today is that of doing away with war.

"Its completion would be the greatest event in history.

"It is the job that mankind most longs to see finished.

"Its essentials are as simple as setting up a bank in a new town.

"Only a few have been working at it.

"Here is the only constructive plan that has come out of a chaotic and war-ridden time.

"Would you be a partner in this business of making permanent world peace?"

These are sentences featured in an article entitled "The Way to Permanent Peace," by William Atherton Du Puy, which appeared in many newspapers of our country on Sunday, March 19th.

After tracing the birth of the peace movement and outlining the principles involved in the establishment of a real world court, the article shows how near the world was in 1914 to effective international organization in terms of a substitute for war. To quote:

"Therefore it is held that the logical next step toward world peace lies in the development and perfection of The Hague conference as an international lawmaking body and of the Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice as a Supreme Court of the world to pass upon international disputes and to decide them in accordance with international law. . . .

"The American Peace Society, as the pioneer in the movement toward world peace, as the nucleus around which have rallied the world's greatest authorities upon international co-operation, believes the psychological moment is near, that the time is at hand when the peoples of all the world will listen to a program for settling disputes without war. . . .

"The American Peace Society has no plan for ending the present war, but it would arouse all the world to the necessity of reconvening The Hague conferences as soon as the conflict ends, of establishing the Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice. . . .

"The Society holds that this may be accomplished only through a campaign of education. . . . In this campaign of world education the American Peace Society expects to have to spend millions of dollars. These millions it hopes will be subscribed by a public which has come to appreciate the vast possibility that present conditions offer for doing in one act the greatest good that has ever been accomplished since time began. It therefore offers to every man an opportunity to become a partner in the accomplishment of that great good. It wants to gather a huge fund of money to be expended along educational lines, and it pledges that every cent of that money will be so expended."

The trustees of great wealth around the world are interested in the preservation of civilization, and yet they are forced to see its destruction threatened by the recurrence of war on what seems to be an ever-increasing scale. Finance, wealth, culture, are international and know no boundaries. The settlement of international disputes depends largely upon that international tribunal toward which the first and most important steps have already been taken. To carry on and to perfect the work already begun depends upon that demand, which can only follow the development of an enlightened public opinion. Such an enlightened public opinion demands, and demands now, great labor and the expenditure of large sums. For such a work this Society exists. The time for a constructive forward movement has arrived. Never in the history of mankind has there been a greater opportunity for wealth to manifest its power for good. A substitute for war is now the hope of the race, and if the right thing is done this hope may be reasonably realized. When once they understand, men are going to contribute to this propaganda as never before. Never in history have need and opportunity faced each other as now. The American Peace Society invites inspection, and asks support.

THE PROGRAM OF THE PACIFISTS

THE problem facing the world today is obscured by such words as Prussianism, imperialism, militarism, pro-Ally, pro-German. The problem upon which the collective judgment of the world must be brought to bear is the problem of war. The relatively unimportant should not befog this issue. The question for civilization to answer is, Is the method in force now in Europe the method which we must continue to employ in time of international differences? In other words, is war an inevitable expression of a natural law?

It so happens that war has been almost universally condemned, not only by the philosophers, but by the warriors themselves. While Emerson considered war to be an "epidemic of insanity," Jefferson called it "the greatest of human evils," and Franklin wrote "that there never was a good war nor a bad peace;" the soldier Carl Schurz was "indignant at the flippant talk of war." The Duke of Wellington considered it "a detestable thing." Napoleon, at St. Helena, concluded that brute force could never be counted upon "to create anything durable." General Sheridan held that "war will eliminate itself." General Sherman's definition of war is familiar, but it is not so well known that he considered the glory of war to be "all moonshine." General Grant plead for reason that it might supplant the sword. Washington frankly condemned war as the "plague to mankind." The prime question before the Congress of

Vienna in 1815—the question then vitally raised by all of the European States—was, "How can we overcome war?" That is the question we must continually ask today. Our education, our religion, our statesmanship, must be brought to bear upon the answer, and that as never before. The problem of our world is the problem of war. Honest men, almost unanimously, civilians and militarists, agree that this is the problem.

The factors entering into this problem are limitless and various. There are the economic rivalries and restrictions, with all the difficulties presented by the conflict between predatory and creative wealth. There are the political ambitions, fears, coercions, secrecies, oppressions, imperialisms. There are the personal greeds and ambitions, the human instincts, the provincial patriotisms, the sensationalisms, the fears of invasion and of hunger, the limited loyalties, the intolerances, and the numberless petty disputes. There is the inertia of ancient fallacies and outgrown doctrines—for example, that powerful States are necessary and desirable; that all life is in conflict; that governments are of divine origin; that they are therefore above the law, and that they rest only upon force. True, some seem conscientiously to favor war because it promotes serene moral grandeur, heightened color, exaltation, co-operative effort, and a unity of aims; but these are a minority. Of such are some of the real factors in the problem, factors which must be recognized and, if possible, resolved.

But the program in the light of such a problem and in the presence of such factors is our immediate interest. What is the program of pacifism? In brief, it is a juridical union of the nations—that is to say, an international law-making and law-interpreting organization. Civil policies must first be fashioned by civilians before the militarists can prescribe the nature of any "adequate defense." The civil policies can be developed only co-operatively and in the light of that justice which is the end and aim of States. The program of the peace societies is the program of international law, which is the expression of justice. The assumption of the pacifists is that war not only does not promote justice, but that it is in and of itself unjust. Therefore, since justice is the aim of States, and law is the expression of that justice, we pacifists urge that the promotion of international justice must take the direction of international legislation and international judicial interpretation.

This is no new position. As we often say, and must often say, the American Peace Society since 1840 has stood for a congress and high court of nations; and it so happens that this program has been the only program acceptable to or discussed by the nations.

We may be encouraged to believe that the world will at the close of this war turn hopefully again to this program. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 represented